



CORN BILL AND MALT TAX.

Bolt-court, 5. November, 1833.

Two very great subjects, and to be treated of in a manner more fully than I shall, perhaps, be able to treat of them at this moment. I find, in a newspaper which has quoted from the *Morning Chronicle*, which last paper I have never taken, on my own account, since it put forth the infamous proposition, or rather since it acted as the hireling of the Whigs in recommending the establishment of a spy-police all over England and Scotland; since that time I have regarded this paper as a hired tool of tyranny, and as such I shall regard it until it explicitly disavows all approbation of that damnable design of the Whigs: for, I look upon that intended measure as the true criterion whereby to judge of the character and designs of the parties. For this reason I do not see this newspaper, though I have great respect for the owner of it; and though I know very well that he knows as little of what is going into it as I do. The *True Sun* generally copies, in the evening, the *Chronicle's* learned lucubrations of the morning; and, if it were to be more regular in doing this, as well as with regard to the other morning papers, it would render itself more valuable to its readers. Through this channel I have got at a knowledge of the following article, published in the *Chronicle* of the 4. of this month. It is an account of what

passed at a recent meeting of the agricultural society of Buckinghamshire; and I wish that the *True Sun* had given us a full account of the resolutions and speeches at that meeting. If the proprietors of that paper knew their interests, they would not fail to do this; for, these are matters of great and universal interest; and a thorough knowledge of them is desired by every body who can afford to purchase a daily paper. This short account quoted from the *Morning Chronicle* is, however, very interesting: it lets us know what all the owners and occupiers of land in Buckinghamshire are thinking of and intending; and we may be assured, that what they think upon the subject here spoken of, is thought by all the other counties of England, Wales, and Scotland. What those of Ireland think, no man can tell. I will now insert this article from the *Chronicle*; and will then make such remarks upon it as I think likely to be useful.

On Wednesday last the Buckinghamshire Agricultural Association held their annual meeting, the Marquis of Chandos in the chair. The great topic at this meeting was agricultural distress; and the very first resolution proposed was, that "the present system of the corn laws ought not to be altered." Some other resolutions were proposed, to which no great importance could be attached, by the members of the association themselves—such as proposing rewards to the labourers who brought up the greatest number of children without receiving support from the parish. We fear matters are too far gone for entertaining much hope from such a proceeding. The country gentlemen seem now fully alive to the danger with which they are threatened by dissatisfied labourers: and the anxiety of the Marquis of Chandos and the other Buckinghamshire landowners, "so to plan it that the poor man shall have an inducement to keep himself independ-

"ent of the parish—that he should have a proper stimulus set before him, which should urge him on to maintain himself and his family without parochial aid," is so far consolatory, that we need no longer fear opposition from them to any plan for improving the administration of the poor-laws.

The agriculturalists are determined on two things—to oppose any alteration of the corn laws; and to effect a repeal of the malt tax. With respect to the former subject, the Marquis says,—
 "Whatever may be the assurance to the contrary, and however you may be lulled into a false security from believing that the question of the repeal of the corn laws was set at rest last session, yet it is my duty to tell you, that I know most certainly, whatever may be the views and intentions of the Government, that the question of the repeal will be brought forward at the next session, and supported by all the strength of its advocates. There is a spirit abroad in the manufacturing districts, which will find its vent in their representatives in Parliament; and if you would successfully resist their powerful efforts, you must be awake and stirring." The Marquis, after alluding to the resistance to the assessed taxes, observes, "I tell you that these taxes will be conceded by the Government, and they will yield to the disloyal efforts of men, whom they should have compelled, in the first instance, into proper and loyal behaviour." The noble Marquis is, however, determined to try whether the *'squires may not beat the inhabitants of towns, and pocket the malt tax*. "I urge you," he says, "as men who have their all to look to, to come forward and advocate your own interests, and not allow clamour to overawe loyalty, or let disaffection govern the land. If you persevere, and send in petitions stating your distress, the repeal of the malt tax *must ensue as sure as there is a sun in the heavens*."

The noble Marquis says, there is land which now fetches seven shillings an

acre, which a few years ago produced thirty-five shillings. But will his lordship better this state of things by a system which cramps the industry of the country? And will the noble Marquis point out to the Government in what manner it can meet the expenditure of the country without the malt tax?

The CORN BILL is the first subject to be observed upon. At the time when the Corn Bill was passed, in 1815, I most strenuously opposed it, not upon the ground that to prohibit the import of corn was, in itself, either tyrannical or unconstitutional, knowing, as I did, that there had always been laws of this sort in England from the time of Edward the Third downwards; and knowing that England had, during the greater part of that time, been the greatest, the freest, and happiest country in the world; knowing also, that the United States of America had a corn bill, laying a duty of thirty per cent. at all times on the Winchester bushel of wheat, and also on the Winchester bushel of oats; and I now know, that when I was in Long Island in 1818, I imported field seeds and garden seeds from England, such as that country never saw before; and that I had to pay a very heavy duty upon those seeds before I could sell them to the farmers.

Let me not be told, then, that a corn law is an act of tyranny; that it is a novelty in legislation; that it must be, in its nature, oppressive to the people of a country in which it exists; and, whatever else we may hear upon the subject of the Corn Bill, I trust that we shall be spared the hearing of heaps of bombastical nonsense like this.

It will be said, that I myself am a farmer now; and that is very true; and it is also true that I shall continue such till the end of my life, in spite of every thing that could possibly be done by any human being to turn me from my purpose. All that is very true; but I was a farmer when the Corn Bill was passed; and a great corn-growing farmer, too; and I had seven wheat ricks, I recollect, and banging ones, too; yet I not only opposed that Corn Bill by writing, but

petitioned against it in the House of Lords to its very last stage. Upon what ground, then, did I oppose it? It was upon this ground: that I wanted the army disbanded; I wanted the dead-weight lopped off; I wanted the sinecures and pensions to be abolished to a very great extent; I wanted the interest of the debt to be reduced in an equitable manner, because I wanted the malt tax and hop tax and soap tax to be abolished; and also the legacy and probate duties, and the cursed assessed taxes altogether; and because I saw that the landowners never would be for these measures, so long as they could, by any means, keep up the price of corn. Indeed, there had been a petition sent from Wiltshire *for a corn bill*, in which the petitioners declared that they were willing "*still to bear heavy taxes in time of peace, if the Parliament would pass an act to raise and keep up the price of corn.*" I knew that the fools were mistaken: I knew that the price must depend much more upon the seasons, and upon the quantity of money in circulation, than upon any laws that could be passed relative to the importation of corn; but I also knew, that, if a corn bill were not passed, they would make a stir to take off taxes; and, upon these grounds, I opposed the Corn Bill. What I shall do now is precisely what I pledged myself to my constituents to do in this respect; namely, *speak and vote for the repeal of the Corn Bill when the taxes shall have been taken off the land.* My colleague (and he is my colleague, because he agrees with me in opinion upon this and other great matters, and because he is universally known to be one of the best men that ever existed); my colleague declared, at a meeting of two hundred gentlemen at MANCHESTER, who dined there in January, 1832, that he never would be for a repeal of the Corn Bill until the heavy burdens were taken from the land; for that, if he were capable of such injustice, his own interest as a great manufacturer would prevent him from inflicting that injustice; because it would ruin those who were the greatest purchasers of the pro-

duce of the loom. And, he was perfectly right; for, nothing can be so clear as this, that, as far as importation of corn could effect such ruin, such ruin must recoil upon the manufacturers themselves.

Upon what principle, I ask, is it, that I am prevented from having my books printed in France or in Belgium, and brought hither for sale? I, for instance, have two great agricultural books; TULL'S HUSBANDRY, with my Introduction, and the WOODLANDS, written by myself. Now, I appeal to any gentleman who has read these books, whether it would not be a great benefit to the country, if they were in the hands of every man in England who cultivates the land? The price of TULL is fifteen shillings; the price of the WOODLANDS, fourteen shillings. Here is one pound nine for the farmer to pay, or else he has to go without these books; or, I must *work for nothing*; and that is contrary to all my principles, as well as to my disposition. Now, I could have these books printed in France or in Belgium, and bring them in here and sell both of them together for ten shillings, with a much greater gain than I have now, were it not for *the tax*, and the *prohibitory law* relative to copy-right books. "Ah! you cursed rogue," the Jews will exclaim, "you want to prevent Lord ALTHORP from getting that tax upon paper, and the tax which he gets out of the sweat of your paper-makers and printers; and you want to give all this sweat tax to the French and the Belgians, instead of employing your own poor countrymen; you want to cheat us and all the widows and orphans that have come hither from JERUSALEM, and all the honest old butlers, and all the cooks that have so roasted the loins of mutton, and, by the same means, stuck fat upon their own bones, and got from the tallow-chandler to put into the savings banks, while they packed off their masters to the King's Bench: this is what you want, is it?" No: you round-eyed, hook-nosed, yellow-pelted rascals! I do not want to do it: I know that Lord ALTHORP must have the

money unless we protect him against you; but I ask the corn-law gabblers to give me the *why* and the *wherefore* upon this point: to tell me upon *what principle* it is, that the law compels the farmer to forego the use of these books, or give nine-and-twenty shillings for them; when, if it were not for the law, he might have them for ten?

There is no principle which will not apply to corn as well as to books. Here, again, my own experience enables me to bring the matter quite home. Amongst many other things that I knew of in America, connected with agriculture, and the introduction of which into England would be a great benefit, was the *Long Island* wagon. I wrote to Mr. WOODWARD, of NEW YORK, to have me one made and to send it to me. If I had it not, and could not have another made, I should deem it a very great calamity. It is about the weight, or not quite so heavy, as a common post-chaise; and, empty, it is lighter for horses to draw; but, the stocks of the wheels being of locust, the spokes being of white oak, and the other parts of the wagon being either of red cedar or white oak, it is able to carry a greater quantity of sheaves of wheat, and, indeed, of hay or any other thing, than any of the common farm wagons in this country; and the two horses, which go abreast with a pole, lately carried a very heavy load of goods from London thirty-six miles into the country in one day, and were in long before dark. Now, then, it was of great importance to me to have this wagon. I had materials sent, at the same time, for the making of another; for *our wood* will not answer the purpose. The stocks of the wheels of my wagon, for instance, are not bigger than those of a post-chaise. Well, I had the things brought to London; but, I had five-and-twenty per cent. duty to pay, besides dock-charges and God knows what besides. "Ah!" will exclaim the wheelwrights down in Surrey, "What! you would give your money to these Yankees, would you, instead of giving it to us, for you get your wagon and the materials for another for five-and-twenty pounds, or there-

"abouts, while we cannot make one of our great lumbering things for less than from thirty to forty pounds." No, my good fellows, I do not want to deal with the Yankees for work; but, I want to be allowed to deal with them for timber, and to bring it here for you to work up into wagons and carts and other implements of husbandry; and this is what Lord ALTHORP will not let me do without paying a heavy tax; because the Jews and the dead weight and the army worry him half to death for money, and because the Parliament will not support him in refusing to give the money to them. But, now comes the question. WHY am I to pay five-and-twenty per cent. upon my implements of husbandry? And, WHY are those who consume the produce of my farm to be supplied with such produce by foreigners without any tax at all?

Answer me that question, Corn-Bill gabblers. Answer me that question, cockchafer of the *Morning Chronicle*. None of your abuse; none of your "*Old Cobbetts*;" none of your predictions, about the term of my life drawing towards its close. Answer me that question; and cease your gabble about "*cramping* the industry of the country." The industry of the manufacturers and the artisans is "*cramped*," is it, by keeping their mouths from foreign corn; and is not the industry of the country cramped by preventing the cultivators of the land from having wagons and implements of husbandry from foreigners: and is it not "*cramped*," is not the industry of that greatest body of all the industrious persons, the farmers and labourers, is it not thus more cramped than it is possible for it ever to be assisted by a Corn Bill?

The Corn-Bill gabblers have already their answer here. They are answered, and they can no more reply to this answer, than they can bring themselves to believe that they are the greatest fools upon the face of the earth, though that is a fact visible to all other eyes. But I will go a step further, as my hand is in, in order to show how very little these gabblers appear to know of the matter. I always con-

tended, that the Corn Bill never could be a protection to the land except in a very limited degree; that the price would vary with the seasons and the crop; and that it would further vary with the changes in the value of the currency, and that no Corn Bill that could possibly be devised would afford any permanent protection. And, now, at this moment, *what protection does it afford?* The six sorts of corn are all as cheap as they were upon an average of years for the whole of the last century up to the commencement of the Bourbon war, which was undertaken to prevent Parliamentary reform in England. What *harm* does the Corn Bill do now, then? What! do you want corn *cheaper* than it used to be in the times of your great-grandfathers? What sense is there in this clamour, then? When the wheat was at its present price before the French war, you had four pounds of bread for five-pence halfpenny, and now you give eight-pence halfpenny for the four pounds of bread; and, why don't you set your wise heads to discover the cause of this? The farmers are selling you *cheap* corn, and the bakers are selling you *dear* bread. Why do you not begin your inquiries here? Cut off a slice of a loaf, smell to it, and start from that. Go, ask the baker why he so extorts from you? Oh, no! he will tell you in a minute, that if you will not give the eight-pence halfpenny you must let it alone and live without bread; for that he has taxes of all sorts to pay, which his old father, keeping the same shop, knew nothing of; and that, if he does not get the eight-pence halfpenny, he must shut up shop.

It is not the Corn Bill, it is the taxing bills; repeal these taxing bills, and particularly the malt-taxing bill, before you hazard your reputation for common sense by bellowing about the Corn Bill. For my own particular part, I care not a single straw whether wheat be high-priced or low-priced. It makes no difference to me in any way whatsoever. Even if the whole of my means of living depended upon farming, the price of wheat, barley, and oats, would be of no conse-

quence at all to me. My crops will consist chiefly of my own corn and of field seeds and garden seeds; and I am so happy to find that there is no objection to the SEED BILL, which is a swinger, I can assure the corn-gabblers. But, here is another instance, in which I can speak from experience. My readers have seen me recently speak of the *Italian clover seed*, imported from Italy to LIVERPOOL, by my correspondent, Mr. HAYLEY. It very curiously happens that I, yesterday, got a letter from Mr. HAYLEY respecting the price of this seed; and he gives me an account of the price, landed at LIVERPOOL, and then of the amount of duty in bond; and I find that duty to be *twenty shillings* upon every parcel of seed costing thirty-five shillings, which is *fifty-seven per cent.*, or thereabouts. What! do I want to take this money from Lord ALTHORP? If this seed be sowed in England, and I am pretty sure that it all will, it must be sowed by those who own, and those who cultivate the land; and *why* are not foreigners allowed to bring them this seed *duty free*, if they be allowed to bring in corn duty free; why is not the farmer to have the benefit of "*free trade*" as well as the rest of the community? Instead of the old and sensible prayer of "*Speed the plough,*" it would seem, that we are now to call upon the devil to assist the Jews in cursing the plough. That matter is settled, then. I wait the reply of the Corn-Bill gabblers. I wait the reply of the cockchafer, and call upon him to tell us what he means by "*cramping the industry of the country;*" and to tell his mystified and besotted readers whether it be not to cramp the farmer a little to compel him to pay fifty-seven per cent. duty upon foreign seeds, some of which, the cockchafer will be pleased to observe, can scarcely be ripened in this climate at all, and never so good as they can be raised abroad. The raising of some of these field seeds can never be pushed to any great extent in England; but they are necessary to all farms in every part of the country. Perhaps, the cockchafer is for abolishing these duties, too? Oh, no! for then he can't



not be paid the interest of the stock which he has collected together.

Again, I say, *I wait for a reply*; and not for abuse: and now let us come to the second subject, which has something of sense about it; namely, **THE REPEAL OF THE MALT TAX**, which is of a great deal more importance than any other subject that can possibly come before the Parliament.

I am very glad to hear that my Lord CHANDOS urges the landowners and cultivators to make strenuous efforts to obtain a repeal of this tax, the repeal of which I have been labouring for for a great many years. In my **COTTAGE ECONOMY**, paragraphs 20, 21, 22, and 23, and the following, I dwelt with all my might upon an effort to show the necessity of this repeal. At the end of this article, I will insert an extract from this pretty little book; the only thing which I have ever lamented with regard to which, is, that it had the approbation of the *Edinburgh Reviewers*. When the reader, if he have not read it before, has read the extract which I propose to make, he will want nothing more to convince him that it is the first duty of the legislature to repeal the tax upon malt. The cockchafer observes, that Lord CHANDOS *would take the malt tax and put it into the pockets of the landlords*; that he would "beat the inhabitants of the towns, and pocket the malt tax for the landlords." Now, what does the nasty grub mean by this? If the malt tax were repealed, it would make a saving of sixty pounds a year to me at my farm, partly in keep, and partly in wages; but, I should, for the twenty years of my lease, pay my landlord just what I pay him now. The lands in England are in general, upon an average, on a lease of seven years, at this moment. The landlords, then, would get nothing for the first seven years, at any rate, any more than their due share as housekeepers and heads of families. But, when my lease should be out, the farm would let for more on account of this repeal of the malt tax: the farmer would be able to pay more rent, in consequence of this repeal. Something more, to a certainty,

because the repeal of the malt tax would cause an increased demand for barley, would cause a diminution in the expenses of his family, and in his poor-rates. But, in all these cases, there is a division of the benefit which takes place; the farmer would keep a better house; the labourer would keep a better house; so that the landlord would only have his due share of the benefit resulting from a repeal of this tax. But, suppose the landlord did benefit in an extraordinary degree from the repeal of this tax; what *objection* has the cockchafer to that? You tax his barley more than *two hundred per cent.*; you cause a bushel to sell for nine shillings (as it does now at SEVENOAKS), while he can sell his barley for only three, or from three to four, shillings; and, at the same time, *you cry out for free importation of barley*. There never was any thing so unjust as this treatment of the landlords, who, however, have this treatment to ascribe to themselves; for, if they had made common cause with their farmers and their labourers, instead of racking their invention for laws to oppress the latter, they would not have been in the plight in which they now are.

And, what does the cockchafer of the *Chronicle* mean, by saying that Lord CHANDOS means to "beat the inhabitants of towns, and to pocket the malt tax for the landlords?" What! does he think that Lord CHANDOS thinks it necessary to make war upon the mechanics and manufacturers, to make them submit to the martyrdom of drinking beer at three-halfpence a pot, instead of paying sixpence for it? Does he think that nobody drinks beer but the chopsticks? Does he not know that a mechanic in London drinks four times as much beer as a chopstick in the country? Is the cockchafer so much more than beastly stupid, as not to know, that Lord CHANDOS need not fight with the townspeople to make them join the country people most heartily in this cause? In short, does the cockchafer not know that the malt tax costs every shopkeeper in the kingdom twice as much as the house and window tax?

Ah! cockchafer! little dost thou know about these matters: thou knowest a great deal of half-German, half-Scotch, three-quarters-devil, political economy; of BROUGHAM'S "*Useful Knowledge*," thou hast store as great as any cockchafer in the kingdom; but the devil of one ounce hast thou of common sense.

Then, again, thou expressest a wish, that my Lord CHANDOS would inform thee how Lord ALTHORP is to provide for the expenditure without the malt tax. Cockchafer! make thyself easy upon this score; for I pledge myself to point out how Lord ALTHORP can get along very well without this tax. It is notorious as the sun at noon-day, that the Exchequer receives only about four millions and a half from this tax; and it is equally notorious that it *costs the nation* thirteen millions a year. The price of the barley is now twenty-six shillings a quarter, on an average. The price of malt, in the neighbourhood of my farm, is eight and sixpence to nine shillings a bushel; the price of malt at Seven-oaks, in Kent, is nine shillings to nine and sixpence. The average, therefore, is nine shillings; so that all is tax, except the twenty-six shillings; because eight bushels of barley make nine bushels of malt, and the ninth bushel pays all the expense of malting. When, therefore, I buy a quarter of malt for seventy-two shillings, I pay, on account of this damnable tax, forty-six shillings upon this one quarter of malt. Why, then, you will say, this cannot be, otherwise there would be competition, and maltsters would spring up in every village. No; they would not; for there is the license, there is the *exciseman*, there sit the bench of magistrates, parsons and half-pay officers very frequently, to be dragged before every week; there is the tramping in and out of your house by insolent fellows in office; there are the outward and visible signs of slavery the most vile. So that competition does not exist, and cannot exist, in such a case.

Then, as to the revenue. The Exchequer has to pay to its fiscal satraps fiveshillings out of every twenty. And, it is not the least mortifying part

of the thing, that the Ministers really disapprove of the conduct of these satraps, and yet they are compelled to have them. They are everlastingly tormented with well-founded complaints against them; and they would grant redress; but, if they do, the satraps *pitch up* like a jibbing horse, and will not stir an inch; and yet these fellows, in one way or another, swallow up a quarter part of as much as goes into the Exchequer on account of this tax. If the Government got *all* that the tax costs the people, it would be another thing; but the Government gets only four millions and a half out of thirteen millions, while the injuries inflicted by the tax are so enormous as to make one shudder to think of them.

I shall now insert that part of "*Cottage Economy*" of which I spoke before; and I beg all my readers, particularly the working people and the landowners, to read it with attention. They will see that I supposed the malt to be eight shillings a bushel still; but that I counted, as upon a certainty, that the landlords would not, for many years longer, suffer the malt tax to exist. I beg the reader to look at paragraph 22, which begins thus: "It appears impossible that the landlords should, much longer, submit to these intolerable burdens on their estates. In short, they must get off the malt tax, or lose their estates." The cockchafer now threatens them with the loss of their estates; and lose them they will, unless they get rid of this tax. The Treasury and the monopolizers are taking away thirteen millions a year out of their estates, and out of the labour of the people, merely by the instrumentality of this tax. The "*Cottage Economy*" was first published in the year 1821. I have been labouring for the repeal of the malt tax from that day to this; I know that it is the ruin of the country; and if the landlords have not the spirit to take it off, they deserve to lose their estates and to perish into the bargain. The inhabitants of the towns are just as much interested in it, as the landlords and the country people themselves. All the industrious part of the

nation are interested in it equally. It is thirteen millions a year taken from the property and industry of the country, to be given to idlers to be squandered, a considerable part of it, out of the kingdom; and every county and every borough and every city ought to petition for the repeal of this tax; and, if there be any man (which I hope there will not), who belongs to that part of the kingdom where beer is not drunk, and where the people madden themselves with whisky, I trust, that, when he has read the following extract from the "*Cottage Economy*," he will cordially join me in calling for a repeal of this horrible tax.

To the Labouring Classes of this Kingdom.

1. Throughout this little work I shall *number* the paragraphs, in order to be able, at some stages of the work, to refer, with the more facility, to parts that have gone before. The last Number will contain an *index*, by the means of which the several matters may be turned to without loss of time; for, when *economy* is the subject, *time* is a thing which ought by no means to be overlooked.

2. The word *economy*, like a great many others, has, in its application, been very much abused. It is generally used as if it meant parsimony, stinginess, or niggardliness; and, at best, merely the refraining from expending money. Hence misers and close-fisted men disguise their propensity and conduct under the name of *economy*; whereas the most liberal disposition, a disposition precisely the contrary of that of the miser, is perfectly consistent with *economy*.

3. *ECONOMY* means *management*, and nothing more; and it is generally applied to the affairs of a house and family, which affairs are an object of the greatest importance, whether as relating to individuals or to a nation. A nation is made powerful and to be honoured in the world, not so much by the number of its people as by the ability and character of that people; and the ability and character of a people depend, in a

great measure, upon the *economy* of the several families which, all taken together, make up the nation. There never yet was, and never will be, a nation *permanently great*, consisting, for the greater part, of wretched and miserable families.

4. In every view of the matter, therefore, it is desirable, that the families of which a nation consists should be happily off; and, as this depends, in a great degree, upon the *management* of their concerns, the present work is intended to convey to the families of the *labouring classes* in particular, such information as I think may be useful with regard to that management.

5. I lay it down as a maxim, that, for a family to be happy, they must be well supplied with *food* and *raiment*. It is a sorry effort that people make to persuade others, or to persuade themselves, that they can be happy in a state of *want* of the necessities of life. The doctrines, which fanaticism preaches and which teaches men to be *content* with *poverty*, have a very pernicious tendency, and are calculated to favour tyrants by giving them passive slaves. To live well, to enjoy all things that make life pleasant, is the right of every man who constantly uses his strength judiciously and lawfully. It is to blaspheme God to suppose that he created men to be miserable, to hunger, thirst, and perish with cold, in the midst of that abundance which is the fruit of their own labour. Instead, therefore, of applauding "*happy poverty*," which applause is so much the fashion of the present day, I despise the man that is *poor* and *contented*; for, such content is a certain proof of a base disposition, a disposition which is the enemy of all industry, all exertion, all love of independence.

6. Let it be understood, however, that, by *poverty*, I mean *real want*, a real insufficiency of the food and raiment and lodging necessary to health and decency; and not that imaginary poverty, of which some persons complain. The man who, by his own and his family's labour, can provide a sufficiency of food and raiment and a comfortable

dwelling place, is not a *poor man*. There must be different ranks and degrees in every civil society, and, indeed, so it is even amongst the savage tribes. There must be different degrees of wealth; some must have more than others; and the richest must be a great deal richer than the least rich. But, it is necessary to the very existence of a people, that nine out of ten should live wholly by the sweat of their brow; and, is it not degrading to human nature, that all the nine-tenths should be called *poor*; and, what is still worse, call *themselves poor*, and be *contented* in that degraded state?

7. The laws, the economy, or management of a state, may be such as to render it impossible for the labourer, however skilful and industrious, to maintain his family in health and decency; and, such has, for many years past, been the management of the affairs of this once truly great and happy land. A system of paper-money, the effect of which was to take from the labourer the half of his earnings, was what no industry and care could make head against. I do not pretend, that this system was adopted *by design*. But, no matter for the *cause*; such was the effect.

8. Better times, however, are approaching. The labourer now appears likely to obtain that hire of which he is worthy; and, therefore, this appears to me to be the time to press upon him the *duty* of using his best exertions for the rearing of his family in a manner that must give him the best security for happiness to himself, his wife and children, and to make him, in all respects, what his forefathers were. The people of England have been famed, in all ages, for their *good living*; for the *abundance of their food* and *goodness of their attire*. The old sayings about English roast beef and plum-pudding, and about English hospitality, had not their foundations in *nothing*. And, in spite of all the refinements of sickly hands, it is *abundant living* amongst the people at large, which is the great result of good government, and the surest basis of national greatness and security.

9. If the labourer have his fair wages; if there be no false weights and measures, whether of money or of goods, by which he is defrauded; if the laws be equal in their effect on all men; if he be called upon for no more than his due share of the expenses necessary to support the Government and defend the country, he has no reason to complain. If the largeness of his family demand extraordinary labour and care, these are due from him to it. He is the cause of the existence of that family; and, therefore, he is not, except in cases of accidental calamity, to throw upon others the burden of supporting it. Besides, "little children are as arrows in the hands of the giant, and blessed is the man that hath his quiver full of them." That is to say, children, if they bring their *cares*, bring also their *pleasures* and *solid advantages*. They become, very soon, so many assistants and props to the parents, who, when old age comes on, are amply repaid for all the toils and all the cares that children have occasioned in their infancy. To be without sure and safe friends in the world makes life not worth having; and whom can we make so sure of as of our children? Brothers and sisters are a mutual support. We see them, in almost every case, grow up into prosperity, when they act the part that the impulses of nature prescribe. When cordially united, a father and sons, or a family of brothers and sisters, may, in almost any state of life, set what is called misfortune at defiance.

10. These considerations are much more than enough to sweeten the toils and cares of parents, and to make them regard every additional child as an additional blessing. But, that children may be a blessing and not a curse, care must be taken of their *education*. This word has, of late years, been so perverted, so corrupted, so abused, in its application, that I am almost afraid to use it here. Yet I must not suffer it to be usurped by cant and tyranny. I must use it; but not without clearly saying what I mean.

11. *Education* means *breeding up*, *bringing up*, or *rearing up*; and nothing

more. This includes every thing with regard to the *mind* as well as the *body* of the child; but, of late years, it has been so used as to have no sense applied to it but that of *book-learning*, with which, nine times out of ten, it has nothing at all to do. It is, indeed, proper, and it is the duty of all parents, to teach, or cause to be taught, their children as much as they can of books, *after*, and not before, all the measures are safely taken for enabling them to get their living by labour, or, for *providing them a living without labour*, and that, too, out of the means obtained and secured by the parents out of their own income. The taste of the times is, unhappily, to give to children something of *book-learning*, with a view of placing them to live, in some way or other, *upon the labour of other people*. Very seldom, comparatively speaking, has this succeeded, even during the wasteful public expenditure of the last thirty years; and, in the times that are approaching, it cannot, I thank God, succeed at all. When the project has failed, what disappointment, mortification and misery, to both parent and child! The latter is spoiled as a labourer; his book-learning has only made him conceited; into some course of desperation he falls; and the end is but too often not only wretched, but ignominious.

12. Understand me clearly here, however; for, it is the duty of parents to give, if they be able, book-learning to their children, having *first* taken care to make them capable of earning their living by *bodily labour*. When that object has once been secured, the other may, if the ability remain, be attended to. But, I am wholly against children wasting their time in the idleness of what is called *education*; and particularly in schools over which the parents have no control, and where nothing is taught but the rudiments of servility, pauperism and slavery.

13. The *education* that I have in view is, therefore, of a very different kind. You should bear constantly in mind, that nine-tenths of us are, from the very nature and necessities of the

world, born to gain our livelihood by the sweat of our brow. What reason have we, then, to presume, that our children are not to do the same? If they be, as now and then one will be, endued with extraordinary powers of mind, those powers may have an opportunity of developing themselves; and, if they never have that opportunity, the harm is not very great to us or to them. Nor does it hence follow, that the descendants of labourers are *always* to be labourers. The path upwards is steep and long, to be sure. Industry, care, skill, excellence, in the present parent, lays the foundation of *a rise*, under more favourable circumstances, for his children. The children of these take *another rise*; and, by-and-by, the descendants of the present labourer become gentlemen.

14. This is the natural progress. It is by attempting to reach the top at a *single leap* that so much misery is produced in the world; and the propensity to make such attempts has been cherished and encouraged by the strange projects that we have witnessed of late years for making the labourers *virtuous* and *happy* by giving them what is called *education*. The education which I speak of consists in bringing children up to labour with *steadiness*, with *care*, and with *skill*; to show them how to do as many useful things as possible; to teach them to do them all in the best manner; to set them an example in industry, sobriety, cleanliness, and neatness: to make all these *habitual* to them, so that they never shall be liable to fall into the contrary; to let them always see a *good living* proceeding from *labour*, and thus to remove from them the temptation to get at the goods of others by violent or fraudulent means, and to keep far from their minds all the inducements to hypocrisy and deceit.

15. And, bear in mind, that if the state of the labourer has its disadvantages when compared with other callings and conditions of life, it has also its advantages. It is free from the torments of ambition, and from a great part of the causes of ill-health, for which not all the riches in the world and all the cir-

cumstances of high rank are a compensation. The able and prudent labourer is always *safe*, at the least, and that is what few men are who are lifted above him. They have losses and crosses to fear, the very thought of which never enters his mind, if he act well his part towards himself, his family, and his neighbour.

16. But, the basis of good to him, is, *steady and skilful labour*. To assist him in the pursuit of this labour, and in the turning of it to the best account, are the principal objects of the present little work. I propose to treat of brewing beer, making bread, keeping cows and pigs, rearing poultry, and of other matters; and to show, that, while, from a very small piece of ground, a large part of the food of a considerable family may be raised, the very act of raising it will be the best possible foundation of *education* of the children of the labourer; that it will teach them a great number of useful things, *add greatly to their value when they go forth from their father's home*, make them start in life with all possible advantages, and give them the best chance of leading happy lives. And, is it not much more rational for parents to be employed in teaching their children how to cultivate a garden, to feed and rear animals, to make bread, beer, bacon, butter, and cheese, and to be able to do these things for themselves, or for others, than to leave them to prowl about the lanes and commons, or to mope at the heels of some crafty, sleek-headed pretended saint, who, while he extracts the last penny from their pockets, bids them be contented with their misery, and promises them, in exchange for their pence, everlasting glory in the world to come? It is upon the hungry and the wretched that the fanatic works. The dejected and forlorn are his prey. An ailing carcass engenders vermin, a pauperized community engenders teachers of fanaticism, the very foundation of whose doctrines is, that we are to care nothing about this world, and that all our labours and exertions are in vain.

17. The man who is doing well, who

is in good health, who has a blooming and dutiful and cheerful and happy family about him, and who passes his day of rest amongst them, is not to be made to believe, that he was born to be miserable, and that poverty, the natural and just reward of laziness, is to secure him a crown of glory. Far be it from me to recommend a disregard of even outward observances as to matters of religion; but, can it be *religion* to believe, that God has made us to be wretched and dejected? Can it be *religion* to regard, as marks of his grace, the poverty and misery that almost invariably attend our neglect to use the means of obtaining a competence in worldly things? Can it be *religion* to regard as blessings those things, those very things, which God expressly numbers amongst his curses? Poverty never finds a place amongst the *blessings* promised by God. His blessings are of a directly opposite description; flocks, herds, corn, wine, and oil; a smiling land; a rejoicing people; abundance for the body and gladness of the heart: these are the blessings which God promises to the industrious, the sober, the careful, and the upright. Let no man, then, believe, that, to be poor and wretched is a mark of God's favour; and let no man remain in that state, if he, by any honest means, can rescue himself from it.

18. Poverty leads to all sorts of evil consequences. *Want*, horrid want, is the great parent of crime. To have a dutiful family, the father's principle of rule must be *love not fear*. His sway must be gentle, or he will have only an unwilling and short-lived obedience. But, it is given to but few men to be gentle and good humoured amidst the various torments attendant on pinching poverty. A competence is, therefore, the first thing to be thought of; it is the foundation of all good in the labourer's dwelling; without it little but misery can be expected. "*Health, peace, and competence*," one of the wisest of men regards as the only things needful to man: but the two former are scarcely to be had without the latter. *Competence* is the foundation of happiness and

of exertion. Beset with wants, having a mind continually harassed with fears of starvation, who can act with energy, who can calmly think? To provide a *good living*, therefore, for himself and family, is the *very first duty* of every man. "Two things," says AGUR, "have I asked; deny me them not before I die: remove far from me vanity and lies; give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full and deny thee; or lest I be poor and steal."

19. A *good living*, therefore, a *competence*, is the first thing to be desired and to be sought after; and, if this little work should have the effect of aiding only a small portion of the labouring classes in securing that competence, it will afford great gratification to their friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 19 July, 1821.

BREWING BEER.

20. Before I proceed to give any directions about brewing, let me mention some of the inducements to do the thing. In former times, to set about to show to Englishmen that it was good for them to brew beer in their houses, would have been as impertinent as gravely to insist that they ought to endeavour not to lose their breath; for, in those times (only forty years ago), to have a *house* and not to brew was a rare thing indeed. Mr. ELLMAN, an old man and a large farmer, in Sussex, has recently given in evidence, before a committee of the House of Commons, this fact: that, *forty years ago*, there was not a labourer in his parish that did not *brew his own beer*; and that *now*, there is *not one that does it*, except by chance the malt be given him. The causes of this change have been, the lowering of the wages of labour, compared with the price of provisions, by the means of the paper-money, the enormous tax upon the barley when made into *malt*, and the increased tax upon *hops*. These have quite changed the customs of the English people as to their drink. They still drink *beer*, but, in general, it is of the brewing of *common-*

brewers, and in public-houses, of which the common-brewers have become the owners, and have thus, by the aid of paper-money, obtained a *monopoly* in the supplying of the great body of the people with one of those things, which to the hard-working man is almost a necessary of life.

21. These things will be altered. They must be altered. The nation must be sunk into nothingness, or, a new system must be adopted; and the nation will not sink into nothingness. The malt now pays a tax of 2s. 7d. a bushel, and the barley costs only 3s. This brings the bushel of malt to 8s. including the maltster's charge for malting. If the tax were taken off the malt, malt would be sold, at the present price of barley, for about 3s. a bushel; because a bushel of barley makes more than a bushel of malt, and the tax, besides its amount, causes great expenses of various sorts to the maltster. The hops pay a tax of 2d. a pound; and a bushel of malt requires, in general, a pound of hops. If these two taxes were taken off, therefore, the consumption of barley and of hops would be exceedingly increased; for double the present quantity would be demanded, and the land is always ready to send it forth.

22. It appears impossible that the landlords should, much longer, submit to these intolerable burdens on their estates. In short, they must get off the malt tax, or lose those estates. They must do a great *deal more*, indeed; but that they must do at any rate. The paper-money is fast losing its destructive power; and things are, with regard to the labourers, coming back to what they were *forty years ago*, and, therefore, we may prepare for the making of beer in our own houses, and take leave of the poisonous stuff served out to us by common-brewers. We may begin *immediately*; for, even at *present prices*, home-brewed beer is the *cheapest* drink that a family can use, except *milk*, and milk can be applicable only in certain cases.

23. The drink, which has come to supply the place of beer, has, in general, been *tea*. It is notorious, that tea has

no *useful strength* in it; that it contains nothing *nutritious*; that it, besides being *good* for nothing, has *badness* in it; because it is well known to produce want of sleep in many cases, and in all cases, to shake and weaken the nerves. It is, in fact, a weaker kind of laudanum, which enlivens for the moment and deadens afterwards. At any rate, it communicates no strength to the body; it does not, in any degree, assist in affording what labour demands. It is, then, of no *use*. And now, as to its *cost*, compared with that of *beer*. I shall make my comparison applicable to a year, or three hundred and sixty-five days. I shall suppose the tea to be only five shillings the pound; the sugar only sevenpence; the milk only two-pence a quart. The prices are at the very lowest. I shall suppose a tea-pot to cost a shilling, six cups and saucers two shillings and sixpence, and six pewter spoons eighteen-pence. How to estimate the firing I hardly know; but certainly there must, in the course of the year, be two hundred fires made that would not be made, were it not for tea-drinking. Then comes the great article of all, the *time* employed in this tea-making affair. It is impossible to make a fire, boil water, make the tea, drink it, wash up the things, sweep up the fire-place, and put all to rights again in a less space of time, upon an average, than *two hours*. However, let us allow *one hour*; and here we have a woman occupied no less than three hundred and sixty-five hours in the year, or, thirty whole days, at twelve hours in the day; that is to say, one month out of the twelve in the year, besides the waste of the man's time in hanging about waiting for the tea! Needs there anything more to make us cease to wonder at seeing labourers' children with dirty linen and holes in the heels of their stockings? Observe, too, that the time thus spent, is, one half of it, the best time of the day. It is the top of the morning, which, in every calling of life, contains an hour worth two or three hours of the afternoon. By the time that the clattering tea-tackle is out of the way, the morning is spoiled; its

prime is gone; and any work that is to be done afterwards lags heavily along. If the mother have to go out to work, the tea affair must all first be over. She comes into the field, in summer time, when the sun has gone a third part of his course. She has the heat of the day to encounter, instead of having her work done and being ready to return home at an early hour. Yet early she must go, too; for, there is the fire again to be made, the clattering tea-tackle again to come forward; and even in the longest day she must have *candle light*, which never ought to be seen in a cottage (except in case of illness) from March to September.

24. Now, then, let us take the bare cost of the use of tea. I suppose a pound of tea to last twenty days; which is not nearly half an ounce every morning and evening. I allow for each mess half a pint of milk. And I allow three pounds of the red dirty sugar to each pound of tea. The account of expenditure would then stand very high; but to these must be added the amount of the tea-tackle, one set of which will, upon an average, be demolished every year. To these outgoings must be added the cost of beer at the public-house; for, some the man will have after all, and the woman too, unless they be upon the point of actual starvation. Two pots a week is as little as will serve in this way; and here is a dead loss of ninepence a week, seeing that two pots of beer, full as strong, and a great deal better, can be brewed at home for threepence. The account of the year's tea drinking will, then, stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
18lb. of Tea.....	4	10	0
54lb. of Sugar.....	1	11	6
365 pints of Milk	1	10	0
Tea Tackle	0	5	0
200 Fires	0	16	8
30 Days' Works	0	15	0
Loss by going to public-house	1	19	0
	11	7	2

25. I have here estimated every thing at its very lowest. The entertainment which I have here provided is as poor, as mean, as miserable as any thing short

of starvation can set forth; and yet the wretched thing amounts to a good third part of a good and able labourer's wages. For this money, he and his family may drink good and wholesome beer, and, in a short time, out of the mere savings from this waste, may drink it out of silver cups and tankards. In a labourer's family, *wholesome* beer, that has a little life in it, is all that is wanted in *general*. Little children, that do not work, should not have beer. Broth, porridge, or something in that way, is the thing for them. However, I shall suppose, in order to make my comparison as little complicated as possible, that he brews nothing but beer as strong as the generality of beer to be had at the public-house, and divested of the poisonous drugs which that beer but too often contains; and I shall further suppose that he uses in his family two quarts of this beer every day from the first day of October to the last day of March inclusive; three quarts a day during the months of April and May; four quarts a day during the months of June and September; and five quarts a day during the months of July and August; and if this be not enough it must be a family of drunkards. Here are 1,097 quarts, or 274 gallons. Now, a bushel of malt will make eighteen gallons of better beer than that which is sold at the public-houses. And this is precisely a gallon for the price of a quart. People should bear in mind, that the beer, bought at the public-house, is loaded with a *beer tax*, with the tax on the public-house keeper, in the shape of license, with all the taxes and expenses of the brewer, with all the taxes, rent and other expenses of the publican, and with all the *profits* of both brewer and publican; so that when a man swallows a pot of beer at a public-house, he has all these expenses to help to defray, besides the mere tax on the malt and on the hops.

26. Well, then, to brew this ample supply of good beer for a labourer's family; these 274 gallons requires *fifteen* bushels of malt and (for let us do the thing well) *fifteen pounds of hops*. The malt is now eight shillings a bushel, and

very good hops may be bought for less than a shilling a pound. The *grains* and yeast will amply pay for the labour and fuel employed in the brewing; seeing that there will be pigs to eat the grains, and bread to be baked with the yeast. The account will then stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
15 bushels of Malt	6	0	0
15 pounds of Hops	0	15	0
Wear of Utensils	0	10	0
	<hr/>		
	27	5	0

27. Here, then, is the sum of four pounds two shillings and twopence saved every year. The utensils for brewing are, a brass kettle, a mashing-tub, coolers (for which washing tubs may serve), a half hogshead, with one end taken out for a tun tub, about four nine-gallon casks, and a couple of eighteen-gallon casks. This is an ample supply of utensils, each of which will last with proper care for a good long life-time or two, and the whole of which, even if purchased new from the shop, will only exceed by a few shillings, if they exceed at all, the amount of the saving, arising *the very first year*, from quitting the troublesome and pernicious practice of drinking tea. The saving of each succeeding year would, if you chose it, purchase a silver mug to hold half a pint at least. However, the saving would naturally be applied to purposes more conducive to the well-being and happiness of a family.

28. It is not, however, the *mere saving* to which I look. This is, indeed, a matter of great importance, whether we look at the amount itself, or at the ultimate consequences of a judicious application of it; for, *four pounds* make a great *hole* in a man's wages for the year: and when we consider all the advantages that would arise to a family of children from having these four pounds, now miserably wasted, laid out upon their backs, in the shape of decent dress, it is impossible to look at this waste without feelings of sorrow not wholly unmixed with those of a harsher description.

29. But, I look upon the thing in a still more serious light. I view the tea drinking as a destroyer of health, an en-

feebler of the frame, an engenderer of effeminacy and laziness, a debaucher of youth, and a maker of misery for old age. In the fifteen bushels of malt, there are 570 pounds weight of *sweet*; that is to say, of nutritious matter, unmixed with any thing injurious to health. In the 730 tea messes of the year there are 54 pounds of sweet in the sugar, and about thirty pounds of matter equal to sugar in the milk. Here are eighty-four pounds instead of five hundred and seventy; and even the good effect of these eighty-four pounds is more than overbalanced by the corrosive, gnawing, the poisonous powers of the tea.

30. It is impossible for any one to deny the truth of this statement. Put it to the test with a lean hog: give him the fifteen bushels of malt, and he will repay you in ten score of bacon or thereabouts. But give him the 730 tea messes, or rather begin to give them to him, and give him nothing else, and he is dead with hunger, and bequeaths you his skeleton, at the end of about seven days. It is impossible to doubt in such a case. The tea drinking has done a great deal in bringing this nation into the state of misery in which it now is; and the tea drinking which is carried on by "drips" and "drabs;" by pence and farthings going out at a time; this miserable practice has been gradually introduced by the growing weight of the taxes on malt and hops, and by the everlasting penury amongst the labourers, occasioned by the paper-money.

31. We see better prospects, however, and therefore let us now rouse ourselves, and shake from us the degrading curse, the effects of which have been much more extensive and infinitely more mischievous than men in general seem to imagine.

32. It must be evident to every one, that the practice of tea drinking must render the frame feeble and unfit to encounter hard labour or severe weather, while, as I have shown, it deducts from the means of replenishing the belly and covering the back. Hence succeeds a softness, an effeminacy, a seeking for the fire-side, a lurking in the bed, and, in

short, all the characteristics of idleness, for which, in this case, real want of strength furnishes an apology. The tea drinking fills the public-house, makes the frequenting of it habitual, corrupts boys as soon as they are able to move from home, and does little less for the girls, to whom the gossip of the tea table is no bad preparatory school for the brothel. At the very least, it teaches them idleness. The everlasting dawdling about with the slops of the tea tackle gives them a relish for nothing that requires strength and activity. When they go from home, they know how to do nothing that is useful. To brew, to bake, to make butter, to milk, to rear poultry; to do any earthly thing of use they are wholly unqualified. To shut poor young creatures up in manufactories is bad enough; but there, at any rate, they do something that is useful; whereas the girl that has been brought up merely to boil the tea kettle, and to assist in the gossip inseparable from the practice, is a mere consumer of food, a pest to her employer, and a curse to her husband, if any man be so unfortunate as to fix his affections upon her.

33. But, is it in the power of any man, any good labourer who has attained the age of fifty, to look back upon the last thirty years of his life, without cursing the day in which tea was introduced into England? Where is there such a man, who cannot trace to this cause, a very considerable part of all the mortifications and sufferings of his life? When was he ever *too late* at his labour; when did he ever meet with a frown, with a turning off and pauperism on that account, without being able to trace it to the tea kettle? When reproached with lagging in the morning, the poor wretch tells you, that he will make up for it by *working during his breakfast time*! I have heard this a hundred and a hundred times over. He was up time enough; but the tea kettle kept him lolling and lounging at home; and now instead of sitting down to a breakfast upon bread, bacon and beer, which is to carry him on to the hour of dinner, he has to force his limbs along under the sweat of feebleness, and at dinner

time to swallow his dry bread, or slake his half-feverish thirst at the pump or the brook. To the wretched tea kettle he has to return at night with legs hardly sufficient to maintain him; and thus he makes his miserable progress towards that death which he finds ten or fifteen years sooner than he would have found it had he made his wife brew beer instead of making tea. If he now and then gladdens his heart with the drugs of the public-house, some quarrel, some accident, some illness is the probable consequence; to the affray abroad succeeds an affray at home; the mischievous example reaches the children, corrupts them or scatters them, and misery for life is the consequence.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed; and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows:

For a single pound	1s. 6d.
For ten pounds	12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds	22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards	1s. per pound.

I mentioned in my former *Register*, that I had seen this plant growing in the Isle of Wight, at Mr. SMITH's, at LANDGUARD farm; that I had brought away some of the seed, which was ripe on the 15. of July, and had sowed a part of it in my garden at KENSINGTON, but that I had lost the plants in consequence of my removal from that place. I also mentioned that my son WILLIAM had sowed some of both parcels of seed at my farm down in Surrey, and I, in the last *Register*, gave an extract of a letter from him, telling me that both parcels of seed were come up; that they were both the same sort; that the seed leaf was twice or three times as large as that of the seed leaf of the common broad clover; and that he had no doubt of the plants succeeding, they appeared to be so vigorous. It did not occur to me, until late last week, to write to Mr. SMITH upon the subject. Observe, that

the excellence of this plant is, that you can sow it after harvest on a field that has had wheat, barley, or oats; and that it will be fit to cut up for green food for horses in the month of May; that it is good green food, I knew, for horses, and, of course, for cows; and the only question was, whether the plant would stand the winter. In order to ascertain this point, I ought to have written to Mr. SMITH at the outset; but, with all my irons in the fire, and two or three of them wanting smiting at one and the same time, I did not think of this until last week. I then did it, however, and here is the most satisfactory answer of Mr. SMITH:

*“ Landguard, Isle of Wight,
Nov. 4, 1833.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—The ITALIAN CLOVER, which was in my garden when I had the pleasure of your company, was drilled the 3. of August, 1831, fifteen inches apart in rank. With respect to whether it will stand the winter I have not the least doubt but it will equally as well as other clovers, for I had not a single plant died, although the frost was very severe for some days. Perhaps it is necessary for me to state that the soil in which it was drilled is a sandy loam, with hard rough sand underneath, and particularly springy, the springs lying very near the surface; so much so, that I effectually drained the land with a shallow drain six feet deep, which has continued running ever since. I have merely mentioned this, to show you that it has no particular objection to a damp soil. Perhaps I shall be asked if I have continued sowing it; I have not. The seed was thrashed out and put by *safe*, to be sown about the middle of August, at which time we were particularly engaged with the harvest, and nothing was thought about the clover; and it is very likely I never should have thought of it again, had I not seen it mentioned in your *Register*.

“ I am, Sir, yours,

“ with the greatest respect,
“ RICHARD SMITH.”

Thus we know all about this matter. If it were now the middle of September, or even the first of October, I would sow a whole field this fall, so certain am I of the success of the thing. I will place a little dish of the seed in the shop at Bolt-court, that it may be seen by any gentlemen that choose to look at it. Men purchase useless things at all times, as soon as they have got the money to purchase them with; but in the case of useful things they put off the hour of purchase till the absolute necessity arises. Therefore, as the time for sowing this seed will be after next harvest, I do not expect to sell much of it until that time is very near at hand. Amongst farmers and seedsmen it is a rule to let as little money pass as possible; and, therefore, Mr. HAYLEY offers me a bushel of the seed for the pains which I have taken to make it known. So that I am provided; and, it might be as well for others who mean to try the thing, to provide themselves also as quickly as possible; for it is quite within the compass of probability (the quantity imported not being large), that there will be none of the seed left by the month of April or May. If sowed in April, I have no question of its producing a great crop fit to cut in the month of July. I shall try it in that way, at any rate.

RURAL WAR!

THE fires have again begun to blaze. These fires have done great (do not tremble so, reader; do not be afraid! I remember COCKEY DENMAN and his dirty bill of indictment!): these fires have done a great deal towards teaching us, towards commanding us, who have the honour to be charged with the making of the laws, to look into, and to remove the causes of acts so contrary to the laws of the land, and so hostile to its peace and happiness. From Norfolk, from Essex, from Sussex, from Hampshire, from Wiltshire, from all these great beds of corn, and towns of stacks, come accounts of the destruction of stacks, barns, out-houses, and cattle, by this devouring element; and the newspapers are filled

with invectives against the perpetrators of the deeds.

But, to rail, in such a case, is useless. To call the perpetrators villains, wretches, miscreants, and the like, will neither put out the fires when they are lighted, nor prevent others from being lighted; but, in the latter case, tend to produce a directly contrary effect. The business of a government, and of law-makers, is to inquire into the cause, or causes. Special commissions have been tried: JOSEPH and ROBERT MASON and Farmer Boys have been transported, and a hundred and thirty-five others, from the single county of Hants, leaving nearly a hundred husbandless wives and nearly two hundred fatherless children; besides heart-broken parents to weep the death and exile of their sons, amongst whom is the widow MASON of BULLINGTON near MICHELDEVER, who thus had taken from her, *for life*, two of the best sons that mother ever had, and two of the best men that Hampshire had to boast of, whose alleged crimes were so trifling as to make one shudder when one thinks of the sentence. HENRY COOK of MICHELDEVER has been hanged for rioting to produce employment by breaking machinery, and for giving a blow to BINGHAM BARING, who was, the very next day, in such perfect health, as to be chairman of a meeting of magistrates at the town of ALRESFORD; and (hear it, Ministers and Parliament!) at a very small distance from the grave where HENRY COOK is buried, the whole of the produce of that very farm, on which he, whom DENMAN, in the House of Commons, said was a carpenter, earning thirty shillings a week, was at plough for four and sixpence a week, when he was taken away and hanged by the sentence of VAUGHAN and other judges of the Special Assize; the whole of the year's produce of that very farm, barns, stables, sheds, together with a horse and some pigs, were destroyed by fire, only a few days ago, the quantity of corn being immense, and the animals described as singularly valuable; yes, the produce of that very farm, on which the poor fellow was at plough for four

and sixpence a week, though a tall and stout young man; which he was receiving from this very farmer PAIN, who was then, as he is now, the tenant of the uncle of that same BINGHAM BARING!

The account given of the fire I take from the base WINCHESTER newspaper, as follows, and from it also I take the advertisement of "*thanks*" of Sir THOMAS BARING and this farmer PAIN; and also their offers of "*reward*" for discovering the perpetrators. I beg the reader to look well at these documents, and then to say, whether it be not high time, that a committee of each House of Parliament be instituted to inquire into the cause, or causes, of these dreadful scenes.

"In the night of Thursday, 24. Oct.,
"between twelve and one o'clock, a fire
"was discovered on *Micheldever Manor Farm*, about seven miles from this
"city, occupied by Mr. Henry Pain.
"The flames had made considerable progress when first observed, and in the
"course of a few hours the extensive
"agricultural buildings were *entirely*
"destroyed, consisting of barns filled
"with different descriptions of grain,
"stables, cart-house, piggery, &c.—the
"dwelling-house only *being preserved*
"from the devouring element. The
"property destroyed, exclusive of the
"buildings and implements, includes
"the produce of 80 acres of barley, two
"wheat ricks, one of which had just
"been housed, a rick of clover, a considerable quantity of pease, a pony,
"and three pigs, for one of which a
"prize was obtained at the Hampshire
"Agricultural Exhibition. Not the least
"doubt is entertained that the calamity
"was caused by an *incendiary*. It must
"have been, in some degree consolatory
"to the family of Mr. Pain, in their distressing situation, to witness the commiseration of all classes of their
"neighbours, particularly the exemplary conduct of the *villagers*, who
"were promptly on the spot, and continued to render the most anxious assistance so long as a prospect remained
"of saving any part of the property.
"Fortunately the buildings, as well as

"the stock, are insured to a considerable amount.

"*To the Inhabitants of the Parishes of Micheldever and Stratton.*

"We feel called upon, by a *strong sense of gratitude*, to acknowledge
"and thank the inhabitants of Micheldever and Stratton, for the readiness
"and *good will* with which they came forward, and the indefatigable exertions made, night and day, by the
"labourers, to extinguish the fire at
"Manor Farm, and which, there is
"too much reason to apprehend, has
"been the work of a *wicked incendiary*.

"In order, therefore, that both the
"disgrace and punishment of this atrocious crime may fall upon the guilty
"culprit, we have determined to offer a
"Reward of One Hundred and Fifty
"Pounds for the discovery of the offender, *that no suspicion may attach to innocent persons*; and we are induced
"to hope that those who have been so active in suppressing the conflagration, which, *but for the providential circumstance* of a favourable direction
"of the wind, would most probably
"have consumed the dwellings and
"property of the *whole* of the inhabitants of Micheldever, will show the
"same alacrity and diligence in causing
"the *criminal to be brought to trial*, and
"punished by the laws of his country.

"THOMAS BARING, Stratton Park,
"HENRY PAIN, Manor Farm, Micheldever.

"*Notice and Reward of £150.*

"WHEREAS, on Friday morning, the
"25. of Oct. 1833, between the hours
"of twelve and one o'clock, a fire
"broke out on the premises of Mr Pain,
"Manor Farm, in the parish of Micheldever, which consumed nearly the
"whole of the farm buildings, together with a large quantity of wheat,
"barley, oats, and other grain; and
"there being great reason to suspect
"that the act has been perpetrated
"wilfully and maliciously, by some
"person or persons unknown; *this is to give notice*, that a reward of
"one hundred and fifty pounds will
"be given by us to any person who

shall inform against, and cause to be prosecuted to conviction, the person or persons guilty of this atrocious offence.

"THOMAS BARING, Stratton Park.

"HENRY PAIN, Manor Farm, Micheldever.

Micheldever, Oct. 26, 1833.

"In addition to the above reward, Sir Thos. Baring, Bart. has received a communication from Lord Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, offering a further reward of one hundred pounds, with a promise of free pardon to any one concerned, excepting the person who actually set fire to the premises. The Norwich Union Fire Office has also offered a reward of fifty pounds, making the total of three hundred pounds."

Alas! what does all this amount to? Just nothing at all. Men, like Sir THOMAS BARING, never will cease to despise the understandings of labouring men. Their understandings are as clear, and their comprehensions as quick and as keen, as those of any people in the world. They will laugh, as I do, at this "strong sense of gratitude," expressed towards them; and, they will laugh still more at "the exemplary conduct of *all* the villagers." Why, they will know that there was not a man in that village who would have dared to refuse to go and assist in extinguishing the fire; and when they will ask, how it could be that three hundred pounds reward should be offered for the purpose of preventing innocent persons from being suspected of the crime. This will pose them a little: they will look at one another and while they read these proclamations; and every one will take care how he moves his tongue upon the subject. They will look like so many *Lord Burghs* in SHERIDAN'S play of the "Critic."

Now, I can assure Sir THOMAS BARING that this is not the way to go to work. This is a thing that all the jails and all the gibbets in the world cannot put a stop to. It is a deed almost entirely fatal. The *thought* is everything, in this case. Some poet exclaims,

"Oh! for a *wish* to *kill* with!" In this case, the act is made so easily and swiftly to follow the wish, that to wish the thing done is almost to do it; and detection is next to impossible. The business, therefore, is, to prevent wishes, which, in themselves, are so diabolical; and, in order to prevent these wishes, you must discover the *cause* of their existence. I am very certain, that any pouring out of hard names upon the authors of these fires, and, particularly, if that practice should be again resorted to in Parliament, will greatly add to the evil, instead of diminishing it. I am quite sure of this; and I do hope that both Houses of Parliament, instead of pursuing their former line of conduct, will set seriously to work to investigate the causes of this great evil. If, for instance, it were to appear upon inquiry, that the wages of the labourer had been lowered at MICHELDEVER, the week before this terrible fire took place. I do not say that this was the case, though I have heard that it was; and I am very far from saying, that that would be any justification of this dreadful act; but it would be a ground for the Parliament to proceed upon in arriving at the cause, and in adopting some measure which should work in the way of remedy. It would, at any rate, account, in some degree, for so extraordinary a change of conduct in the people.

Let us look at the rise and progress of this great evil. By degrees the state of the working people had become so miserable, that their food was little more than potatoes and salt, which was not only notorious, but which was given in evidence at the Special Assizes at WINCHESTER; and, at the same Special Assizes, it was given in evidence, that the treatment of the working people by the hired overseers was very cruel. The working people rose and rioted, in order to obtain better food and better treatment. They were transported for this, and some of them hanged. They then resorted to the fires. This is the true progress of it; and, though it was a crime to riot, and a greater crime to set fire, still this was the progress;

and, therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Parliament very minutely to inquire into the causes. There was a riot in MICHELDEVER in November, 1830; and now there is a fire; but, "Why do *you* not point out the cause?" the cockchafer will say; "*you*, who are always ready to find a cause for everything else." Because I do not choose to do it, cockchafer. "But why do not *you*, who have so much influence with the chopsticks, especially in Hampshire, exhort them to withhold their burning hands!" Because I do not choose to do it, cockchafer: let those exhort them who have calumniated me to them. Let that parson exhort them who told them that I was an infidel, and for which I had a great mind to have treated him with an action at law. Oh, no! Everyone knows what arson is: I shall give no exhortations and no opinions one way or the other; and this is my determination. I shall merely record what passes in this respect; merely narrate facts and point out circumstances which are notorious; and leave it to the feelosofers of the north, and the intensely-eloquent creatures of the north-west, to *convince and persuade*. I shall leave it to the dealers in "useful knowledge," and the promoters of "*headekashon*," to remove the wishes that give rise to such lamentable deeds. I have not excited the wishes; I have not spread about the potatoes and salt; I have had nothing to do with the matter: and I will give no exhortations, and offer no opinions, upon the subject. It is curious to observe, that there seems to be an endeavour here to cause it to be believed, that *nobody at Micheldever* could have set this fire. The mad strain about *instigators* riding about in post-chaises, or on horseback; this mad talk seems not to be revived; and about *jails full of Frenchmen*, that Lord ELDON told us of. But, though we have not this mad talk, there run through this beastly WINCHESTER newspaper insinuations about instigators. The beast does not say a word about *the lowering of wages*. That is too vulgar an idea for this terrible hack. "*Instigator*" is

a fine long word; and it always means this, that the hired overseers under STURGES BOURNE's Bills; that the tread-mill; the transportation for being in pursuit of a hare; the giving of the married men seven or eight shillings a week, at the utmost, and young single men three or four shillings; that all these have nothing at all to do with the matter; that they are not only right, but that the *people think them right*. That the married people love the farmers and the landlords, as they love the apples of their eyes; and, to carry the love still further, the young fellows and girls love them as they love one another; and then comes the question, "Where the devil do these fire-setters *come from*?" From some other parish? That can't be; for there they are equally in love with the landlords and the farmers; and why go into another parish, where they can have had nothing to do, and cannot have been offended with anybody? Besides, if the fire-setters come from other parishes into MICHELDEVER, they, of course, would go from MICHELDEVER into other parishes; so that this is all a lie; a shocking self-delusion; and yet, it is this very self-delusion which has perpetuated this series of hitherto almost unheard-of deeds. So far, so good; and now I shall turn to Norfolk, and look at the proceedings of some fire-stricken gentry at FAKENHAM, which will throw a little more light upon this very interesting subject. The account is contained in an article of the cockchafer, published by him in his dying old devil of a newspaper of the 5. instant, and is in the following words.

"There is another evil which demands, perhaps, more immediate attention, the incendiarism which is now systematic through a very great part of the country. We observe, that on Thursday last, a *meeting of the proprietors and occupiers of land in the hundred of Gallow, in Norfolk*, was held at FAKENHAM, for the purpose of taking measures to *put a stop to the recurrence of incendiarism*, which has become so alarmingly ge-

neral in that county. The meeting, at which Lord CHARLES TOWNSEND presided, agreed to *resolutions*, expressive of their horror and concern at the recurrence of the diabolical spirit of incendiarism, which has lately become so prevalent in Norfolk, and more particularly in the hundred of Fakenham, in which, **THEY SAY**, the '**POOR**' are *as well employed and paid as in any other part of the kingdom*; and they express a *determination* to use *every exertion* and *means* to prevent this malignant crime, and to detect and bring to '**SEVERE JUSTICE**' the perpetrators. This is a serious evil. The labourers have *been taught*, that they *were indebted to the fires for the improvement of their condition*, and *their not being reduced to the level of the Irish*; and it is *not astonishing*, that they should, on every occasion of dissatisfaction, have recourse to similar means of intimidation. It would be difficult to point out a time when the *various branches of industry* of the country were altogether in a more *satisfactory state* than that in which they are at present. But we must not shut our eyes to the signs of approaching danger: *great pains are taken to inflame the minds* of the working people, both in towns and rural districts."

What is a "*district*," thou affected cockchafer? Where do you find a "*district*," in this kingdom? Why insult us with your half-outlandish gabble? We know nothing but of kingdom, counties, dioceses, hundreds, parishes, and tithings. You are getting rid of all the names by which we know our own country. You are for the military divisions hatched by DUKEY YORK, under the "*good old King*, the father of his people." But, now, thou sneaking and cowardly cockchafer, what dost thou mean, by saying, that it is no wonder that the labourers set fires, "*seeing that they have been taught*, that they were indebted to the fires for not being reduced to the level of the Irish." If they "*have been taught*," somebody taught them; and then, thou base literary poltroon;

thou most wretched of all the tools of the hypocritical Whigs; thou dastardly lump of Scotch and German carrion, kneaded up together; then, I say, why not *name* that somebody? It is not for me to say, and I will not say, whether I do, or do not, think, that the fires prevented them from being reduced to the infamous level of the Irish; but this I will say, that, rather than see them reduced to that state, I would see the island sunk to the bottom of the sea; and to prevent them from being reduced to that state, every possible exertion of mine shall be made.

You say, that great pains have been taken to "*inflame their minds*." Well said, old instigation! 'Tis not the heat of their minds, you fool; it is not the cramming of their heads that produces the mischief, but the keeping of their bodies uncrammed with bacon and bread. I can no more persuade them that bacon is not bacon, than you can persuade them that cursed potatoes are bacon and bread. *Inflame* their minds, indeed! This puts one in mind of GOODMAN'S confessions, which the hunting parson and the busy magistrates of Sussex got from him: "That Mr. Cobett's lactur did so inflame my mind." Oh, no! There is no inflaming: it is all hunger, cockchafer; and that which you suck up out of the taxes is partly the cause of their hunger.

Now for the meeting of the landowners and occupiers at FAKENHAM. If it were as easy to execute as to resolve, there would soon be an end of the fires at FAKENHAM, especially, as "**THEY SAY** the poor are as well employed and paid there, as in any other part of the kingdom." Well, then, if that really be the case, it does seem strange, for I know a part of the kingdom where the chopsticks get fifteen shillings a-week, all weathers; where they have fuel for the mere cutting of it opposite their cottage doors; and where it is a poor man, indeed, that does not kill one hog, if not two, in the course of the winter. The lion observed, "*that lions were not painters*;" and the labourers are not paragraph-grinders. If we could hear the account of the labourers of FAKENHAM,

we should most likely have a very different story. At any rate some of those labourers can write to me, putting their names to the writing. They can tell me what wages they have, and whether they have any thing besides the wages; and, then, we shall know all about the matter.

In the meanwhile, there is an account of proceedings at the Quarter Sessions in Norfolk, which has attracted the attention of all London; and I shall insert the whole account from the *TIMES* newspaper of the 30. of October, leaving the cockchafer to poke about after *instigators* and *inflamers* and *teachers*, till his high cheek bones fairly come out through his skin.

"With a mixed sentiment of indignation and alarm we have read in the *Bury Post* of last Wednesday, a narrative of certain proceedings which took place at the Norfolk county sessions, in the case of four labouring men, who had endeavoured to make others join them in a strike for wages. Of these poor men it appeared that one, by name Norgate, had earned but 2s. in the last fortnight, and that on applying to a Mr. Oldfield, who is represented to have been a farmer and overseer, for relief, Oldfield refused him any, but offered him some clay-trenching at 5d. a rod, which offer the applicant accepted, on condition of getting money enough in hand to buy himself some victuals. This was refused. The man was indicted for joining others in forcibly taking away a labourer of Oldfield's from his work. He was found guilty.

"Another labourer, named Mann, was also indicted and found guilty of the same offence. This transgressor stated that he had received but 18s. in six weeks for his labour. He applied to the same Oldfield for 'a job,' and was refused. In that emergency he asked as a pauper for a shilling or two to buy bread; Oldfield refused this likewise, 'as he was not overseer;' from a neighbouring farmer, however the prisoner learned that he was overseer, and on returning to repeat his application for parish assist-

"ance, Oldfield would not give him a single farthing — the brute adding, that Mann's wife might go and gain money by prostitution!

"Scott, another prisoner under the same indictment, said he had no further share in the alleged riot than trying to rescue the poor men, 'who were not in fault, as they had neither work nor money; that Norgate had had no victuals from Monday to Wednesday,' on which last day he was sent to Bridewell.

"Overton said he was offered 1s. 6d. a day by Oldfield, but could not work for such wages, having a wife and three children to support, on which Oldfield refused to give him any more, asserting that he gave a good many of his men but 7s. or 8s. a week. He further declared that he would not grant the applicants for work or relief a single penny for all the justices in the world.

"Well, the four transgressors were, as the report of the trial states, found guilty; and, after an edifying commentary on their crime by the Chairman, what does the reader think was the punishment awarded by this bench of Norfolk justices? Three of the men were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, with hard labour; and one poor man, whose wife was advised to save him from starving by her own infamy, was, because of his good character, condemned to a captivity of only twelve months!

"Now, the legal guilt of these unfortunate men, in striving to gain, by forcible means or by menaces, the co-operation of others in their own effort to procure work at better wages, we should be the last to deny; at the same time it will be recollected that the prisoners did not inflict on any man the slightest bodily harm; nor can it be forgotten how many extenuating circumstances in the case of these poor offenders ought to have entered into the consideration of the magistrates; although the sentence was one which we are sure could only have been justified in the minds of the people of England, had the formal

breach of the law been attended on the part of the individuals found guilty by the grossest moral aggravations. But see what the present labourers of England have been brought to. The magistrates and farmers have, between them, with the assistance of the law of settlement, reduced the daily labourer to a condition of the vilest bondage. They have coalesced in half the parishes of England to fix a *maximum* upon the poor man's wages, that what is cribbed from the labourer may be added to the rent of the squire, and the farmer nothing the worse for it. The farmer and overseer being in many instances the same person, he has the means of enforcing upon the daily labourer this threat, which the trial we have referred to will doubtless exemplify to our readers—"either work for wages insufficient to support you, or you shall have no parish relief." Nay, a hard and pinching overseer may, it would seem, refuse the labourers both wages and parish allowance with impunity; and then, when the wretches join together to force the justice which they cannot otherwise hope for, he may come into court as a witness against them, and, with a bench of squires may entail on them a punishment little, if at all, inferior to the galleys. The Chairman need not, we think, on this occasion have taunted the applicants for relief from the poor-rates by reminding them that it was charity they were seeking. If the abuses of law and power have made industry unsaleable in the market, and reduced the willing labourer to the abject condition of a beggar, it becomes not those who have concurred in the establishment of such a system, or who have caused it, to reproach the class who innocently suffer under it with the disgrace to which it subjects them. The war, however, of squire and farmer against the working peasant, will not always be a series of victories on their side. It rages in Ireland, and will thus introduce, ere long, a body of poor-laws. In this country it will correct and purify the

code which already exists. The poor may be guilty of outrages in both islands, but they are, strictly speaking, outrages wrung out of the people by extreme wretchedness, and will never be fully put down but by a sensible diminution of their wants.

MR. POULETT SCROPE'S ADDRESS.

I HAVE not the address itself, and wish he would be so good as to send it to me; but the following will show what the newspapers of London are about with regard to it. I beg my readers to read the article, which I take from the *Chronicle*. The tower of BABEL was a fool of a thing compared to what we hear and see here upon these subjects. There was an old shepherd in Hampshire who used to say to those that talked *fine* to him, "I'll be devilled if you beant outlandish." What he would say to the following article, I do not know. This cockchafer editor has got together here a mixty-maxty of opinions, that the most clever political chemist in the world would be unable to analyse. Almost every day of his life he contradicts what he has said the day before. To-day he closes with something savouring of my opinions as to the main matter. However, I must leave it as it is, and let the reader try his skill in disentangling it.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 7. Nov.)

Some confusion is occasioned in argument by making use of terms which have more than one signification. We observe that the term agriculturist, used by Mr. Poulett Scrope, has led to misconception of his meaning. The *Times* of yesterday, for instance, observes, with reference to his letter—"It is fair to say, that with all our full and hearty concurrence in the necessity of Irish poor-laws, we doubt the correctness of Mr. P. Scrope's theory, when he ascribes the distress of the English farmer to his being undersold by the Irish grower, because of the latter being exempt from any legal provision for the poor. We

doubt whether the Irish farmer can undersell the English, or do more than meet him on equal terms, after paying his rent. If the Irish farmer be free from poor-rates, does Mr. Scrope suppose that such a circumstance escapes the shrewdness of the Irish landlord, or that it does not enter into the calculation of both landlord and tenant when they strike the rent per acre? The truth is, that Irish wheat is sold in Dublin or Cork market, quality for quality, on nearly the same terms as British in the markets of England, the cost of carriage being pretty much the same. If the Irish farmer pays less in poor-rate, he pays more in rent, and has even a *smaller* profit. The landlord alone is the gainer; and if poor-laws were established in Ireland to-morrow, Irish wheat would not be sold a fraction higher, but the rent would be wofully reduced, and the relation between the farmers or immediate sellers of grain in the two countries would remain, as to their respective profits, precisely what it is at present. With regard to the enlarged consumption of Irish grain in 1832 as compared with 1817, it is sufficiently accounted for by the increased demand of a rapidly growing population, the agricultural soil and productiveness of England itself not being susceptible of a proportionate increase.

It is well observed by Burke, that, in all arguments with respect to agriculture, the tenant must be considered merely as the representative of the landlord. And, in fact, Mr. Poulett Scrope considered the Irish farmer merely as a potato-eater, who, whether prices were high or low, had no interest whatever in the question. When he said that the Irish farmer could undersell the English farmer, he meant that the landlord, acting through the wretched creature that raises and disposes of the whole produce for his account, could undersell the English farmer. The English cultivator, as is well known, must maintain the population, whether he employs them or not; and, if the supply of Irish food lowers the price below what would replace to the Englishman the *necessary*

expense, he is of course undersold by the Irish agriculturist. Whatever the price, high or low, the Irish agriculturist can always afford to sell, because the only cost of production is the supply of potatoes and water to the famished wretch, who is reduced, by excessive competition, to the necessity of delivering over his whole produce to the owner of the soil. No reflecting person would, therefore, bestow a moment's consideration on the being whom, by courtesy, we call Irish farmer, from not knowing what else to call him. The whole tenor of Mr. Scrope's argument went to show that the landlord alone was concerned, for he took pains to show, that, happen what might, the Irish peasant could only count on potatoes and water in good years, and a relief by typhus from his cares in years of famine.

Our contemporary (the *Standard*) has written a long article on Mr. Scrope's letter, the arguments of which, with all humility be it spoken, he has utterly misunderstood. We have already said, that the Irish farmer is a nonentity—that the landlord regularly cleans him out, and that rise or fall of rent means merely rise or fall of prices, as the whole produce, minus the potatoes, regularly goes to the landlord. Nobody takes Polish or Russian serfs into consideration when speaking of Polish or Russian agriculture, because, though they have a better living than the Irish serf, they still only have a living. What the *Standard* says about Irish rents being higher or lower, may therefore be safely passed over. But he says, "The short answer to Mr. Scrope's complaint of the advantages enjoyed by Irish agriculture is, that in Dublin prices are as high, deducting freight and commission, as they are at Mark-lane. The reason of this fact will at once expose the fallacy of his whole theory. In the present state of supply and consumption in this country, the ability of the purchaser, and nothing connected with the cost of production, is, in fact, the measure of price. Farmers sell at a loss, because the purchaser is not able to pay a remunerating price, chiefly because of the free-trade system. Looking to permanent results,

It is extremely doubtful, as we have shown, whether the total exclusion of Irish produce would, in any respect, benefit the English farmer, so long as he is disproportionately burdened, at home, and so long as the unnatural state of our monetary system depresses all classes but the capitalist to a state of extreme poverty. At all events, we think we have said enough to demonstrate that there is no permanent opposition of interest between the British and the Irish agriculturist; and we must strongly protest against reasoning upon the hypothesis that such permanent opposition of interests can exist; first, as tending to engage the English agriculturists in support of the treasonable scheme of separation; next, as diverting the attention of British farmers from the safe and sound remedy for their distress—a more equal distribution of their home burdens, the protection of the agriculture of these islands from foreign competition, and an emancipation of the credit and industry of the country from the tyranny of the money-lender class by a repeal of the Bill of 1819. Let them follow such leaders as Lord Chandos, and they will go right; by pursuing the advice of Mr. Poulett Scrope they may, if they succeed, perhaps obtain the exclusion of Irish produce, for a few weeks, at the expense of being overwhelmed by the produce of all the rest of the world for ever." Now, with all submission to our contemporaries, this short answer is no answer at all. If the trade were as free between Poland and Belgium and England as between Ireland and England, the prices at Dantzic and Antwerp would differ from the prices at Mark-lane only by the freight and commission added to the latter. The measure of price would not be the cost of production in Belgium and Poland, but the proportion between the supply and demand at Mark-lane. As long, however, as the cost of production should continue lower in Belgium and Poland than in England, Belgium and Poland would supply the English market to the extent of what exceeded their home consumption; and the effect of this

supply would be to lower prices in England. How much prices would be lowered in England, and how much raised on the Continent, cannot be stated beforehand with anything like accuracy; but this may be stated with perfect confidence, that, so long as England should be the importing country, and the others the exporting countries, the prices in the ports of exportation would be as high as the prices in England, deducting the freight and commission.

It is most absurd to suppose that there is any difference, as far as England is concerned, between Ireland and a foreign country. The price in the English market depends on the proportion between the supply and the demand. If Ireland continues to throw into the English market a large and an increasing supply, that supply must keep down prices. To the English consumer this is, to a certain extent, an advantage. But the English agriculturist fights the Irish agriculturist with his hands tied. He must, as Mr. Scrope says, give those labourers who are thrown idle by the Irish producers one and sixpence a day. He cannot turn the labourers into the ditches to starve. They have a habitation in their respective parishes; they have a lien on all the land in every parish for their subsistence: they must be fed before any one else can be fed, and let the worst come to the worst, the lands, if cultivators cannot be found, must be abandoned to them. A landowner in Ireland may set fire to the cabins on his estate, though it were a whole barony, and call for the police and the troops of the nearest barracks to drive the wretched inhabitants from the grounds, consigning them to death by famine whenever he pleases. But the English inhabitants of a parish are joint-proprietors with the owners of land. Their maintenance is a rent-charge on the land. They can claim a home and support; and the trembling farmers are but too well aware of their power to enforce it.

Ownership of land without responsibility is a dreadful scourge, especially where there is a rich country adjoining

that in which such a pestiferous state of things prevails, bound to support the owners. So long as that state of things prevails in Ireland, it is a mockery to talk of its civilization, because civilization supposes the growth of a middle class possessing capital. Our own civilization is retarded by the influx of hordes of wretched creatures, who depress the labour market, because they must work on any terms. The importation of food from Ireland is so much more mischievous than the importation of food from Poland, or any other country equally barbarous with Ireland (if such country there be) in this—that Poland gives us no trouble with her serfs, whereas the spread of the wretched cultivator of Ireland increases with fearful rapidity the number of peasants whom Britain must coerce with an armed force, and increasing detachments from whom fill our towns, and derange the labour market.

The exasperation among the working classes in this island on account of this derangement is very great. The fires in East Kent had their origin in this source; and so great has been the intimidation in country places, that one gentleman in Kent, who had had an Irish gardener for some years, told us that he was in constant terror lest he should suffer for it. The farmers generally agreed not to employ Irishmen. But in the towns the influx of Irish has been such, that in many places the Irish predominate. The consequences have been serious, and, indeed, threaten the destruction of our manufactures. We look with fear and apprehension to the tyranny of Trades Unions in towns, and incendiarism in the country. They are both, we believe, attributable to one cause—the instinct of self-preservation. The author of "Traditionary Stories" has been blamed by one of his critics for using, when speaking of the Irish, the terms, "the vermin who infest this country." The language is harsh and grating, but it expresses correctly the feeling of the working classes; and whatever may be thought by the higher classes, the estrangement of the lower, caused in a great measure by the belief

that they are sacrificed to Ireland, is a fearful consideration.

Under all circumstances, we think Mr. Poulett Scrope has rendered an essential service to his country. Till the selfishness of the landowners is enlisted in the cause of the people, it will be difficult to put an end to the dreadful state of things in Ireland.

SCOTCH FIRES.

THE following, taken from the *Glasgow Chronicle*, will show that they can set fire in Scotland, as well as in England; and that the "headekashon" does not prevent such things altogether, at any rate. I repeat that it is the duty of the Parliament to look into the cause; and that it will be useless, and even mischievous, to indulge in railing against fire-setters, and to threaten them with the effect of REWARDS, and with hanging. A Scotch farm-yard is a dreadful scene, indeed, when the ricks are on fire. The setting fire to one, sets fire to the whole. It is useless to talk about anonymous letters and malignant motives. The cause, be it what it may, is one and the same all over the kingdom; and, until that cause be removed, the farm-house is next to a dwelling in the infernal regions. There is one remedy, however, be the cause what it may; and that is, to keep all the fellows in the parish well crammed with bacon, bread, and beer, and let them have a bed to lie down upon; and then I will engage to eat every man that you shall find awake after seven o'clock in the evening, at this time of the year. Hogs are all asleep as soon as it is dusk, and foxes prowl about all the night: the first are supplied with plenty of food; the latter are compelled to forage for themselves. However, the Government and the Parliament will do as they please; and, of course, they will take what comes without complaining.

INCENDIARISM.—We regret to state a most flagrant instance of wilful fire-raising committed on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday last. The barn-yard belonging to Mr. Francis Deas, farmer at Culteuchar,

the lands of Mr. Oliphant of Condie, was completely burned up. The crop was all in the yard, and consisted of 30 large stacks of different sorts of grain. We understand it is partially insured. The conflagration was discovered till past two o'clock yesterday evening, when the whole was almost totally consumed. Mr. Deas received an anonymous threatening letter about a fortnight ago—and suspensions attach to an individual unknown, whom he had twice refused employment on account of suspicious appearance.—*Perth Courier*.

INSERT the following without comment, not having time for a suitable commentary :

(From the *True Sun*, 30. Oct., 1833.)

AFFRAY AT SANDHURST.

An account having been recently published, charging the young gentlemen Sandhurst College with having stopped the Southampton coach, and assaulted the passengers, by throwing stones at them, Sir Charles Paget has thought it right to draw up the following statement of the facts :

" *R. M. College, Oct. 16, 1833.*

It appears that on the occasion of our Majesties' visit to the college, the gentlemen cadets were irritated by the royal conduct of some blackguards in the crowd, who, when 'God save the King' was played, as the royal carriage drove away, refused to take off their hats. The gentlemen cadets, in consequence, knocked the hats off some of the persons who belonged to Bagshot; afterwards learning that they threatened vengeance, went over there to give them a meeting. Whilst about fifty of the gentlemen cadets were on their way to that town, the Independent coach from Southampton passed; three of the young gentlemen attempted to get up behind, which the passengers refused, as there was no room; and the coachman, unfortunately, in the heat of the moment, struck at them with his whip. This, in the state of excitement which the gentlemen cadets had been excited by the repeated threats of the Bagshot people, was sufficient to produce a row. They very improperly, when the coach stopped to change

horses at Bagshot, impeded it from proceeding on its journey for a few minutes; people came to the assistance of the coachman, and a general affray took place.

" But the whole business has been very much exaggerated, for it could not altogether have lasted a quarter of an hour; no bones were broken, though a few heads were; and the most serious charge, that a woman was struck, is completely disproved by her own voluntary deposition before the magistrates, that the blow was intended for a man near her, and hit her only by accident.

" Immediately that the college authorities were informed of the circumstances, every aid was offered to the civil power of discovering from amongst the whole number of young gentlemen, supposed to have been present, those who were most to blame, and the party being paraded for the Bagshot complainants to see, ten individuals thus identified by them were sent before the magistrates to answer for their conduct. The business was, however, without further legal proceedings, adjusted, to the perfect satisfaction of the complainants, on the young gentlemen engaging to pay at the rate of five pounds for every broken head, and the same sum to the coachman.

" Thus ended an affair in which the conduct of the gentlemen cadets was unquestionably reprehensible, and they have been made to suffer for it accordingly, not only in purse, but by the restriction upon their bounds, which the governor has since imposed. But without attempting to justify their attack upon the coach or the inhabitants of Bagshot, or even to extenuate it in either case by the provocation which they had received, it may fairly be said that if the whole matter had occurred at one of the great public schools of the country, it would have been treated but as a mere boyish row, and that it is only the fact of these youths of no greater age having red coats on their backs which has enabled ill-disposed persons to aggravate their thoughtless folly into a serious offence.

" CHARLES PAGET,

" Rear-Admiral."

TO THE
PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

MY FRIENDS,—I have only time to tell you that I can tell you nothing to a certainty about the time of my going to OLDHAM. When you see me dating my *Register* from some other place than this den of smoke and stink, then conclude that I have it in my power to go to OLDHAM. It is now ten days since I stepped my foot over the sill of the door of this house.

I hope that you are all well, your wives, children and all, and

I am
your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A VERY hardly-treated *Officer of the Navy* writes to me; and if his letter were read by Sir JAMES GRAHAM, my opinion (founded on my *experience* of Sir James's prompt attention to such cases) is, that he would obtain redress; for though the Right Honourable Baronet did, in the affair of the fraudulently obtained commissions, treat ME rather *à la quarter-deck*, I have found him ready to attend willingly and promptly and *efficiently* to the hard case of a seaman, which I thought it my duty to lay before him. ME, he paid me the compliment not to regard as an object of compassion; but, this is no reason for supposing that he is wanting in that feeling towards those who are quite unable to give him any annoyance; nay, I do him no more than justice in declaring my belief, that, if he were once but to see even ME on the "*compassionate list*," I should experience marks of his kindness. However, this poor officer is in *such dread of power*, that he beseeches me *not to name him!* Then, it is not *just* towards the Admiralty for me to *name his case*; for, if he do not make his sufferings *known* there, how can the Admiralty relieve him? I can, therefore, do nothing for him.

NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

I THANK my correspondent at CHESTER very much, indeed, for correcting me as to the name of the negro emancipator, which was BENJAMIN LAY, and not BENJAMIN HOLLOWAY. I had forgotten the name, and I had not the little book by me. It ran in my head, that it was Halliwell, or Holloway. I had written to PHILADELPHIA for the book, and shall probably get it. The main facts of the case are truly described in the article alluded to, in which I gave WILBERFORCE his last lashing though not the last to his hypocritical eulogists.

THE *Title-pages* and *Tables of Contents* for the back volumes of the *Register*, from volume 72 to volume 74, both inclusive, are now ready for delivery; and may be had by applying to the Office, in Bolt-court.

MR. ATTWOOD'S LETTER.

(To the Editor of the Newcastle Press.)

(Concluded from page 314.)

I should, now, sir, have returned the people out of doors, conceiving that I had, at any rate, fulfilled my mission, and there was little *chance* of making better progress as well as, perhaps, little *motive*. Besides, I must confess that where I can avoid it, I have a little taste to waste my time in *hunting quicksilver*. Many of the promoters of the address, however, at that time on the stairs and landing, in ignorance, perhaps, of the efforts I had already made within the smaller room, pressed me, by their exclamations, to *follow him* and *the other*. Whether I should have done so, I do not know; but, on the point of fact, I was either half or altogether pushed or carried in. Some two or three, I think, of my party, followed or were forced in with me, and the door was, therefore immediately closed *inside*, leaving Mr. Doubleday and other friends, outside, on guard, with *loud cries, fierce, fell, yet*

yellings, rose round me instantly, all sides. Midst these, the pipe of Brockett, his lordship's "Fidus" upon this occasion, was heard, all, sharp, and frequent with, "Lord Durham claims your protection—Lord Durham claims your protection, gentlemen;" on which I also said, "Yes, all means protect Lord Durham;" knowing otherwise, at the time, and yet supposing, from the utterance of a cry, that some insulted or other provoked promoter of the address, might be actually giving vent to his feelings on his lordship's person. Surely could not possibly have been his lordship that had desired or could have authorised their appeal? Surely, surely could never be, that it was from him that he *desired*, or deemed he should have possibly *required* protection? Why sir, Lord Durham was, at that time, under *my* protection; and my protection by a tie of honour, which would have made me rather wish, aye, if possible, ten times rather, than to have suffered him to have received one single buffet. Yes, Lord Durham was *actually* under protection; and never would I have let his lordship there, except with a determination to protect his life and safety, by the sacrifice of mine. And I tell these vainly-would-be-thought protectors of his lordship, that, had my discretion and capacity been slight as theirs, their method of protecting him might, perhaps, have proved the *source* of danger rather than of *safety*.
 Perchance, however, sir, this curious "Protect Lord Durham," might have had another meaning in the minds of some, and that there might have been "brave men" within that crowded room, who were desirous of exciting others to do what they were not brave enough, with all their bravery, to do themselves, *to fall on me!* Alas! alas! how little has the man they hate been deemed to fear the blows of an assassin! even in his chains and in his dungeon, could the hireling slave presume to slay Caius Marius! No, no; I am not born to die *that* death. No, it is not possible that I could perish

underneath the hands of men of Gateshead No, sir; nor by the Whigs of any place.

"I bear a charmed life, that must not yield
 "To Whig of woman born."

However, to have done with this; I failed to discover, and if I had discovered, it would have depended on his own demeanour, whether I should have addressed Lord Durham. I penetrated, however, very nearly to the far end of the room, where I supposed that he might be; *solicited* by those *near* me, and threatened by those *distant*; who would seem, however, to have *themselves* grown civil whenever in the tossings of that stormy sea, they found their vessels *driven* somewhat too near unto *my dangerous coasts*. The only instance of affront addressed to me, face to face, was on the part of "*Fidus*," Mr. Brockett. He came most impudently up to me, when I had reached to near the lordly end of this long room, with a distinctly delivered *message*, as it *purported* to be, to this effect: "Mr. Attwood, you are requested to leave *this room*." I instantly demanded "*from whom* that message came." I got no answer, however; for the waves of interposing parties, prudently anticipative of the rising of a storm, which even *I* might possibly have been unable to allay, removed him from me, and urged me upon all sides with civil importunities, to withdraw, in order that the dinner party might not be broken up, or peace endangered. One gentleman, in particular, whom I did not know, addressed me in a manner well adapted to the nature of the case, with this appeal: "Mr. Attwood, you see, *you know* you have the *power* to do *as you like*, and therefore you surely may withdraw. Pray, then, be *persuaded* to withdraw." I would be glad to learn the name of that individual, as that of a man of strong capacity and prudence, who put the case upon the only footing upon which I could withdraw with honour, from a scene of villain-threatenings which it would otherwise have been said I fled from. I turned to him, and I exclaimed loudly, for the edification

of the ambushed threateners lodged behind; "Yes, sir, I *know* I have the power. Why, then, do men *forbid* me "to withdraw, by *thus insulting* me?" From this time forth, however, surrounded by civil *beggars* that I would do so, I slowly and conversingly withdrew. The speech in which I dispersed the meeting is in your hands, and terminates the history of this strange affair.

Sir, had you seen me in this "howling wilderness," and shut up in it, too, your pious imagination would, perhaps, have conjured up before you, the Scripture scene of Daniel in the *Lion's Den*; and Daniel, sir, I warrant you, however sure of the Divine protection, was not less fearless of *his* foes, than I of mine. My *own* thoughts rather wander to less sacred letters and profane analogies; to such passages as that of Horace, which I have taken for my motto, and to which I have annexed a doggerel translation; not for the benefit of learned Whigs, but of unlatin'd and more useful men. And as I began with one passage of poetry, I will conclude with another perhaps as beautiful and as applicable,

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

CHAS. ATTWOOD.

"— From amidst them forth he passed
 "Long way, through hostile scorn, which he
 sustain'd
 "Superior, nor of violence feared aught;
 "And, with retorted scorn, his back he turn'd
 "On those proud towers, to swift destruction
 doom'd."

MILTON.

N.B. I find it is reported that the mouths of the Whigs are watering to give Earl Grey a dinner in Newcastle, and that, had the smuggling of the Earl of Durham into Gateshead as a *Radical* and out of it as a *Whig* succeeded, the Premier would have been attempted to be pulled through the opening thus afforded for him. Well, sir, the Whigs are desperate. But whatsoever they may do, the *people* are prepared for; Newcastle would be, indeed, a *district* affair; and I think, Earl Grey would be less testy touching form and etiquette than the Earl of Durham. It matters

little how that may be, however, is the *presentation* of addresses, not acceptance of addresses, does the job

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

ATHERTON, W., Everton, Lancashire, chant.

SEABROOK, R., Thornborough, Bucks, ler.

WELLER, J., Battersea, farmer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

TODD, W., Aylesford, Gloucestershire, manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, R. L., South Lambeth, mar-
gardener.

BELL, E., Horse Bazaar, King-street, man-square, dealer in carriages.

DEVEY, F., Phoenix-wharf, Whitefriars, merchant.

DIXON, G., Otley, Yorkshire, farmer.

INGLIS, J., Hampstead, baker.

KENT, S., Russell-court, Drury-lane, censed-victualler.

MAZZUCCHI, J., Bow-lane, Cheap, dealer in Italian produce.

RUTLAND, T., Nottingham, bobbin-maker.

STEAD, J. C. S., Mark-lane, corn-factor.

WALLIS, W., Fen Ditton, Cambridge, excavator.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

CUNNINGHAM, L. T., Edinburgh, che-

TUESDAY, Nov. 6, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WILSON, J., Liverpool, mercer and drap-

BANKRUPTS.

ARMSTRONG, J., Cambridge, tin-
worker and brazier.

COAD, R., Huddersfield, grocer.

MASON, W., Queenhithe, auctioneer.

NICKALLS, J., Chatham, corn-factor.

RODDAMS, H. R., North Shields, com-
brewer and wine and spirit merchant.

WEBB, P. E., Liverpool, ironfounder,
merchant, and agent.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov.
The supplies of Wheat to-day from East

rather liberal, moderate from Essex, and
 uly limited from Suffolk. The pre-
 ence of the south-westerly winds prevents
 supplies from reaching our port from
 and, and since this day se'nnight not a
 cargo has arrived. Though the fine
 weather has improved the condition of the
 oles, yet the millers were very reluctant
 asers of the best parcels, at the terms of
 Monday, and for secondary and inferior
 there was very little demand, and prices
 finally the same as last week. Old Wheat
 uined dull at the previous currency, and
 ended corn nothing doing.

Barley was in fair supply, and proved diffi-
 cult to dispose of. Best parcels of Malting
 ity were 1s. per qr. cheaper, and second-
 descriptions might have been purchased
 ill less money. Distilling sorts were also
 er; but grinding sustained little alteration.
 Salt is dull sale, but prices unvaried.

The import of Oats having been very short,
 ers are refraining from purchasing in
 expectation of further supplies now arriving.
 Trade ruled steady, and Monday's prices
 fully supported, and good fresh feed Oats,
 market, would have realized more money.
 Beans no alteration.

The Government contract for 500 qrs. of
 , deliverable part the 30. inst., and the
 under 14. December, has had no effect
 the trade; prices of boiling Peas were
 y, with a moderate demand; and grey
 maple unaltered.

Our was in moderate request, and former
 es of ship qualities supported, especially
 marks.

Wheat	52s. to 62s.
Barley	30s. to 36s.
Barley	24s. to 27s.
Barley fine	30s. to 35s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
Boilers	42s. to 45s.
Grey	33s. to 35s.
Peas, Small	—s. to —s.
Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	25s. to 26s.
Feed	19s. to 23s.
Our, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Mark, India, new	102s. to 106s.
Mess, new ...	—s. to 56s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	82s. to 84s. per cwt.
Carlow	80s. to 86s.
Cork	—s. to —s.
Limerick ..	75s. to 76s.
Waterford ..	74s. to 77s.
Dublin	70s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD, November 4.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather
 scarce, but in great part of middling and
 rior quality; the supply of Sheep mode-

ately good; of Calves and Porkers but
 limited. Trade, owing to the weather being
 favourable to slaughtering, the carcass mar-
 ets but moderately supplied, and most of
 the butchers' shops clear of their last week's
 meat, was, throughout, somewhat brisk; with
 Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at an advance of 2d.,
 Veal 4d. to 6d. per stone.

Full four-fifths of the Beasts appeared to
 consist of about equal numbers of short-horns,
 Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts; the
 former and latter being, if any difference,
 most numerous; the remaining fifth of
 about equal numbers of Scots and Irish
 Beasts, with about fifty Town's-end Cows, as
 many Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c.
 About 2,200 of the short-horns, Devons, Here-
 fords, runts, Irish Beasts, and a few of the
 Scots, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and
 others of our northern grazing districts;
 about 200 of do. from our midland and
 western districts; about 150, mostly Scots,
 from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge-
 shire; about 100 from Kent, Sussex, and Sur-
 rey; and most of the remainder, including
 the Town's-end Cows, from the London
 marshes.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep were new
 Leicesters, of the South Down and white-
 faced crosses, in the proportion of about two
 of the former to five of the latter; about one-
 fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth
 about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents,
 and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lin-
 colns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned
 Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled
 Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 8.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The
 market dull, but without alteration in prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur					
Cons. Ann. }	87½	88	—	87½	88½

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such a thing having been frequently sug-
 gested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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